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THE WAR, EDUCATION, AND SOCIETY

AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

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## The War, Education, and Society

Reviews the literature for the three years ending August 1942. Earlier literature was reviewed in Volume X, No. 1, and Volume XII, No. 1.

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## FOREWORD

THE EDITORIAL BOARD considered devoting an entire issue to research on the war and education, but decided that this would not be called for at the present time. Instead, the regular issue on "The Social Background of Education" has been somewhat modified so as to include effects of the war on society and on education as part of its general purview of the current social scene. The first two chapters are given over wholly to a presentation of the leading studies and bibliographies available at the present time. Subsequent issues of the REVIEW will continue to include the research relating to aspects of the war as it is pertinent to their topics.

At some future time it may seem appropriate to give over an entire issue to the war and education.

This issue of the REVIEW has been affected by the war in more ways than in content. Fourteen persons who were invited to contribute could not do so because of the press of duties at this time, and one entire chapter is lacking because one member accepted an important war position too late to be replaced as a contributor.

Especial thanks are due those who accepted responsibilities for their chapters later than they should have been asked. It seems appropriate also to mention that the chairman of the issue underwent a serious operation in the midst of the work, but resumed his administrative duties on the issue without adequate rest and also prepared a chapter which he had earlier promised.

DOUGLAS E. SCATES  
*Chairman of the Editorial Board*

## INTRODUCTION

**T**HIS is the third issue of the REVIEW (cf., February 1937, February 1940) that has dealt with phases of what is variously regarded as "educational sociology," "social background of education," and "social education." Unlike previous numbers, the present issue is at once a product of wartime conditions and an inquiry, at least in part, into certain conditions and effects of the war.

In the pages that follow, the reviewers have tried to "summarize, synthesize, interpret, and evaluate" current research studies in six areas of interest. Chapters consider in turn the war-induced changes in local community life, war effects in general, the family, child socialization, dynamic aspects of the school curriculum, and school efforts to educate for community unity. All of us being partners in one big business—the nation's war effort—this topic is of urgent concern. The family is of time-honored interest, as is also the adaptation of school programs to changing social needs. Child socialization is a research lead of unusual promise, as are current attempts to teach cooperative social action in school and community. Overlaps in reporting research data have not been rigorously edited, due in the main to significant differences in author purposes and points of view.

It seems relevant to note that contributors have had to work under difficult conditions. They have been pressed for time. One member had to forego the writing of a concluding chapter on "the role and functions of educational sociology" in order to accept a government post of great importance.

LLOYD ALLEN COOK, *Chairman*  
*Committee on Social Background of Education*

## CHAPTER I

### Impact of War on American Communities

CHARLES R. HOFFER

THE UNITED STATES has been concerned with peacetime programs, and research projects reflect that interest. There are, however, definite indications of a shift of emphasis since the beginning of World War II. An analysis of the 1942 census of research sponsored by the American Sociological Society showed that 112 out of a total of 302 projects are related to war effort (30). Surveys of the social effects of war have appeared already. Also, a considerable amount of research not definitely planned or labeled as relating to the effects of war does have significance, nevertheless, in interpreting the impact of war on the community (4).

#### War and the Community

War changes community life. Several effects which World War I had on American communities were presented in a survey of news items (1) appearing in the *Des Moines Register*. Social participation of all kinds was greatly increased. Many organizations sought to serve in the war effort, though with a certain lack of coordination. Gradually as needs occasioned by the war situation became more evident, programs to meet them on a community basis were coordinated.

Unification in spirit was an outstanding quality of American communities in World War I (3). When it is present, many adjustments which ordinarily would cause trouble are readily made, even at the cost of personal sacrifice. The impact of war on the local community tests the adequacy and efficiency of community organizations, as well as the degree of integration, which they have attained in reaching common goals (26, 29, 31, 32). War affects especially the various social institutions and organizations, but eventually the entire community gains or loses in the adjustment process, depending upon the degree of morale that has been maintained during the period.

#### War Changes Family Life

In our society the family is regarded as a basic institution; hence the effects of war on the family will be reflected throughout the community. War hastens the formation of new families. For example, the number of marriage licenses issued in August 1940 in New York City was more than 50 percent higher than the number for the same month in 1939 (5). Such a rapid increase does not last long, however, because as a war continues, an actual decline in the marriage rate occurs. Then, with the cessation of hostilities, a rapid rise to normal proportions may be expected (7). Many marriages consummated at the beginning of a war period do not

endure. There are too many odds against them. For example, divorce rates in the United States showed a marked increase in 1919 and 1920, a fact attributed to the so-called "war" marriages that occurred at or near the beginning of World War I (14). In all probability, a similar increase will occur at the cessation of World War II, with a consequent burden imposed on community organizations.

The effect of war on established families is also far-reaching. In many instances it produces family separation. Husbands and sons are called to military service while wives and mothers remain at home. Each is placed in an unusual position. Those inducted into military service find a plan of life organized for them. They become members of an in-group with its characteristic mores and group controls. For the wife no ready-made pattern of conduct is available. She must make her adjustment as the exigencies of the situation permit or demand. In any case, family life must be carried on without the aid of the husband. For instance, birth certificates filed during May, June, and July 1942, for twenty-eight states and the District of Columbia showed that 9,176, or 3 percent, were children of men in military service (37).

The Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor estimates that 5 percent of the births in the United States in the year beginning July 1942 will be to wives of men in the armed forces (37).

Another effect of war is to provide the opportunity for married women to obtain employment in industry. The urgent demand for labor, together with high wages and patriotic sentiments, contributes to this end. This trend has been so recent that accurate data for the nation are not available. The Bureau of Labor estimates that nearly 2,000,000 more women workers will be added during the year, most of whom will be new workers, reaching a peak of over 15,000,000—far above the highest peacetime employment of women this country has ever known (46). Many of the women who are employed contribute to the support of families. In ten studies on this particular subject "nearly 13 per cent of more than 369,000 women reported were the sole support of families of two or more persons and in 34 studies reporting more than 155,000 women, including both married and single, practically 60 per cent contributed to the support of dependents" (45).

Employment of women outside the home is bound to contribute to the economic independence of women and make more secure for them a status which is similar to that enjoyed by men. Absence of the husband from home also contributes to this result. The war, therefore, is accentuating changes in American family life. The trend is away from the traditional patriarchal family to a companionship type in which affection will play a dominant role. This newer type of family will be smaller (due in part to an increase in number and popularity of birth control clinics), children will have higher valuation, and relationships between husband and wife will be more nearly on an (equalitarian basis) (6). With this new type of family present, the local community will play a more important role in child care

and education (13). Hence, a continued interest in nursery schools, supervised playgrounds, and public education may be expected.

### Effects of War on Children

As World War II progresses, the problems which it creates for children have received an increased amount of attention. The Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor has been a leader in this area of activity. Parents are advised to prepare children for defense by treating their problems normally, not emotionally (10). Frank discussion of facts about war and the particular situation of the family are preferable because they help to get rid of imagined horrors. Each community must work out its own plan of caring for families and children in case of disaster; and all eventualities, no matter how remote, should come within the purview of these plans.

Fortunately, communities in the United States have not been forced to face the problem of the evacuation of children, but they can profit by the experience of England in this respect. Studies and observations (36) in that country show that evacuated children need (a) a home, (b) active social life, and (c) help in keeping alive the images of their parents and loyalties to their own home.

A more immediate problem in American communities is the care of children whose mothers are employed in industry. Ways to meet this need are in experimental stages; an extension of the nursery school offers the possibilities of a solution. Investigations by the Children's Bureau have developed specific standards as guides for community effort. A recent report from the Bureau (38) states that "any program for day care should provide (a) care and guidance that the mother would give if she were with the child; (b) activities that are of value to the child in his growth and development; (c) a relationship with parents that involves their continuous initiative and participation in making and carrying out plans for the child."

### War and Health Problems

The effect of war on the health problems of a community is not readily observable. The most obvious change has been the loss of physicians in the community. Of the nation's 120,000 active doctors it is proposed by the government that eventually 70,000 will be inducted into military service, thus leaving 50,000 physicians to care for a population of 120,000,000. This makes a ratio of one physician to 2,400 persons. In normal times the ratio is approximately one to each 1,000 (16). The full effect of this condition has not as yet been felt, though already the demands on physicians in many communities are extreme. The situation has stimulated greater interest in health education and precautionary measures and increased the need for nursing services.

The war has brought into the foreground again the necessity for research and education regarding nutrition (23, 25). Good health, which in a measure is safeguarded by a proper diet, is essential to war effort and it conserves human resources on the home front. Fortunately, our knowledge of diets and foods has a good foundation in research over a period of years, so the immediate problem occasioned by the war is to induce families to use the information now available. This is a task in adult education, and has been one of the objectives of home demonstration work sponsored by the agricultural extension services in the various counties. Since the pattern of extension work is reasonably well understood in American communities, the outlook for success in this endeavor is encouraging. It is interesting to note, moreover, that apparently all classes in our society have been influenced by programs to improve the diet (44).

### War, Churches, and Schools

When World War I became a reality in American communities, churches generally seemed to consider the conflict as an effort to attain goals wholly consistent with their purposes. The war was interpreted as a kind of religious crusade. Great emphasis was placed on winning, but attention to the social basis of war and the conditions essential to a durable peace were not given sufficient consideration. In World War II, churches and church leaders are much more realistic about the entire program. While assisting in the war effort, in accordance with accepted principles of denominational organization, most churches are also giving some attention to the conditions which contribute to a just peace and to programs that will insure its durability. Indicative of this emphasis is a publication (11) by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The booklet contains data, material, and discussion questions for local church and other community groups that may be interested in the subject. This shift in emphasis to include not only winning the war but maintaining a just peace is by far the outstanding effect of World War II on American churches.

As is the case with all institutions in the community, the school cannot escape the effects of war. Unlike the schools in Germany and other war-minded countries, those in America were concerned with peacetime programs, as is characteristic of a democracy. Only gradually has the school's conversion to the necessities of war occurred. The change has involved revising the curriculum to meet war demands, such as adjustment in vocational training and, in some instances, the acceleration of the period of training so that pupils may engage in production work (27). But the emphasis in education remains on basic functions. They are essential in war as in peace. Indeed, the war has made more urgent than ever the role of the school in informing pupils about the life and problems of mankind, not only in the immediate community but in different parts of the world as well. Global war demands global thinking. Studies in geography need to be paralleled by sociological descriptions of the social



organizations and cultures existing in different regions. At present, this trend is evident with reference to our neighbor republics, and its extension to other parts of the world seems inevitable (43).

### **Impact of War on Economic Life**

In the realm of economic life two trends as a consequence of the war are observable. One is greater authority by government over labor, industry, and agriculture. The other is an increase in consumer interest among inhabitants of the community (17). The first trend was evident before the war began but has been greatly increased by it (2). Demanding cooperation and unity of effort, a war program runs counter to many customary practices of business enterprise which are engendered by competition. Yet business and industry have so much at stake that cooperation and government control are accepted, and probably will remain to a considerable extent as a permanent feature of our economic life.

Organized labor is a relatively new element in community life. How the war will affect labor and the labor movement is not clear. It is certain, however, that laborers constitute only one interest group in the community and that community controls will compel laborers to act in accordance with community needs, as has been true with other groups, notably governmental and business groups (18).

The war has made the importance of farmers evident through the demand for food. They have been asked to produce greater quantities of farm products even though supplies of farm machinery and other equipment, as well as labor, have been curtailed. For the United States as a whole, the gross loss of farm laborers to the armed forces was twenty-nine per one hundred farms during the year September 1941 to September 1942 (34). This decrease was general throughout the nation, though the greatest loss was in the mountain states where forty-three laborers had left each one hundred farms; the lowest loss was twenty-seven, which occurred in the New England area, the East North-Central section, and the East South-Central states. These difficulties have been compensated for in part by higher prices for farm products, but there is no disposition on the part of farm leaders to consider wartime demand for farm products as a solution for the economic aspects of the farm problem (20).

The consumer interest is universal, inasmuch as all persons are consumers. It is only one of several interests which individuals have, and unless some stringent circumstances arise it does not become effective to a point where action on a community basis is possible. The war has provided such an occasion. Increase in prices, rationing, and the disappearance of some commodities entirely from the market have caused people to become conscious of their needs as consumers. This interest has been mainly an educational movement directed toward (a) understanding and enforcing price regulations and rationing rules, and (b) more efficiency in the selection and use of foods, clothing, and other articles (39).



Centers of information for consumers have been established in several communities with prospects that they will become permanent organizations.

### **The Outlook for Democracy**

In the midst of all these activities and regulations, the conviction that democratic government is the most suitable form for people in the United States remains firm. The concern, which has been increased by the war, on both the national and local community levels, is how to maintain and strengthen democracy. This involves a clearer understanding of the essential processes in democratic organization and control as well as more general participation in government by voting. The first concern has stimulated the formation of forums and discussion clubs of various kinds (8, 22). Gradually techniques to facilitate the work of these groups are appearing (10, 21). Group activities are carried on with the hope that the understanding of problems, which is facilitated through discussion, will lead to intelligent social action as a logical result. Once the governmental interests of people in local communities are made effective, the continuance of democracy at both the local and national levels is assured (15, 19). The war has demonstrated the sociological principle that political processes are in a large measure a reflection of the social and cultural conditions prevailing within a society.

Nowhere, perhaps, are the principles of democracy being tested so rigidly as in the treatment of ethnic and minority groups. These groups include those identified in one way or another with our enemies, those associated with our allies, and the American Negro. The largest group by far is the latter (12). Negroes are loyal citizens and are making laudable efforts to help in winning the war. Nevertheless, there has been some reluctance to employ and train them despite the fact that the government has issued orders against discrimination. Moreover, the living conditions of Negroes in some communities have grown less satisfactory with the advent of defense workers. The Negro group is showing considerable militancy against these conditions, particularly in regard to discrimination. Thus the American community has the opportunity and the challenge to interpret and make effective the principles of democracy to the end that there shall be no diminution in the privileges or opportunity implied in citizenship. Truly, this is a major item in the unfinished business of democracy (9, 32).

### **War and Community Organization**

The main effect of the war on community organizations has been to intensify the work in health, nutrition, consumer education and protection, family security, child welfare, and education (42). These activities require much organization and effort, but, except for civilian defense needs, existing organizations have been able to carry the load. Gradually people have become "defense conscious" and the inauguration of the block plan for civilian war services will contribute to the further development

of this attitude (41). The purposes of this plan are (a) to carry forward civilian war activity quickly and effectively, (b) to get war information into every home rapidly and accurately, (c) to collect information which may be needed for community war planning, (d) to bring back to the homes answers to questions which have been raised, and (e) to promote a spirit of cooperation in neighborhood enterprises, such as block discussions, meetings, rallies, car-sharing plans, and sharing of scarce mechanical and household equipment. With such a degree of organization it would seem that a foundation is being laid for community organization and planning which would enable the local community to meet whatever adjustments or emergencies the war or the postwar period may bring forth (24, 28, 40).

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## CHAPTER II

### Effects of the World War on American Education

WILLIAM G. CARR and MARY LOUISE MALLAM

THIS REVIEW has been limited to research studies in the field of American education completed since December 7, 1941. Highly specialized medical and psychological studies have been excluded. Much of the research completed within the brief span of a year has been necessarily tentative and incomplete. Few studies were of sufficient scope to warrant far-reaching conclusions. Subsequent studies may be located through the *Education Index* under such headings as "War."

The accomplishments of this year, however, should serve to stimulate further investigation along a number of lines. For example, the greatest number of studies has been made in the effects of war on students, yet only a glance at the work done is needed to appreciate the opportunities for further study.

Other important problems which have received little attention include:

The degree to which the war has stimulated federal leadership in education.

The effects of the war on public opinion concerning the efficiency of the schools and the value of education.

The effects of the war on the financial support of education.

New functions assumed by the schools in the war situation.

Nature and extent of war-created curriculum changes in history, the arts, language, home economics, and other fields.

Effects of the war on the relative prestige of the teaching profession.

#### Effect of the War on Student Attitudes

A number of studies of pupils' attitudes toward the war have been made although many of them are limited in scope.

A test on hemisphere solidarity developed by the Cincinnati schools (17) revealed that Cincinnati students held good neighbor attitudes, with only a few significant misconceptions.

Cronbach (7, 8, 9) prepared a morale test for secondary-school students designed to identify highly pessimistic, panicky, and highly optimistic or complacent pupils. The test results have been studied in terms of what schools should do to prepare students for a world at war. Cronbach's findings indicate that students hold more pessimistic opinions about the effect of war on their own lives than the facts warrant. Students do have great confidence in the American war effort but they exaggerate the destructive force of war. A great majority of students expect to serve the war effort in some way. This can become a source of valuable energy if it is fully employed.

Glicksberg (24) interpreted the results of a questionnaire given to third- and fourth-year English students in terms of attitudes toward the

enemy, United States' policy now and in the future, the draft, and individual participation.

Tangney (38) studied the changes in newspaper reading habits of secondary-school students after December 7. He found significant shifts of interest in several areas. Interest in illustrations, radio, war news, and headlines increased more than 10 percent; school news decreased 10 percent; among the items which decreased from 5-10 percent were sports, travel news, crime news, and scandal. A marked difference between boys and girls was noted in the type of changes. Girls, for example, increased their interest in illustrations, war news, foreign news, and headlines. Boys showed increased interest in local news, letters, and want ads. In general it was concluded that girls' interests shifted more than boys' and that there were more declines than gains in interest.

Corey (6) interpreted the needs of elementary students for information about the war on the basis of questions asked by these children.

Preston (35) reported on the effects of war upon children's attitudes. The data were secured through interviewing and testing 851 children of the New York metropolitan area, ranging in age from eight to fifteen years. A wide range of findings is reported concerning children's information about the wars, their expressions of partisanship, evidences of their interest, symptoms of anxiety, ideas concerning the origin and abolition of war, the prestige they attach to war and fighting, and war play on their own level. Differences between children of different chronological age, sex, mental age, and occupational status are reported. The study emphasized that, while it is not possible to determine a precise age level at which the child is ready for abstract social concepts, the study of contemporary wars does not become an appropriate and educative topic for children who are less than thirteen years old. This may indicate that children are sometimes introduced too early into difficult abstract and complex social concepts in the elementary school.

The Boy Scouts of America (2) prepared a summary of a survey on how boys feel about the war and their part in it.

At the college level, Jones (27) reported a ten-year study of changes in college students' attitudes toward peace and war, including data gathered after December 7, 1941. He found that there is no single consistent attitude toward war on the part of individuals. A person has attitudes toward war, not an attitude. Moreover, changes in general or basic attitudes toward war and peace, which are intertwined with attitudes toward other areas of life, are made slowly or with difficulty at college age, but changes in attitudes toward specific issues and actions can be made rapidly and with relative ease. Dilla (12) outlined a course for college students on the political, ideological, and economic background of the war, based on a questionnaire given to college students.

Brunner's study (3) is a report of the rural youth project of the American Youth Commission. This long-term study was nearly completed at



the time of America's entry into the war. His summary of rural youth attitudes toward the war indicates that for many of them the coming of war brought a state of shock, apathy, or complacency. Rural youth do not welcome the war or military service but he believes that they will serve, and willingly. Their concern for their own future may be expressed as: "Will the rural youth who return from the war find only poor and unwanted lands?" If this concern were met with a positive program for farm security which would give rural youth a chance to look forward to a decent living, Brunner believes that their contribution toward the war effort would be aided immeasurably.

### Curriculum Adjustments to Wartime Needs

Wartime changes (made since December 7, 1941) in forty-five institutions for Negro higher education were reported by Davis (11). He found that there were calendar changes in the date of commencement, vacation periods, examination schedules, length of summer session, time for the admission of freshmen, time required for graduation, and in two instances in the unit requirement for college entrance. Important curriculum changes included twenty-eight new courses offered, sixteen changes in work in physical education, six courses on postwar programs introduced, and three special research projects on subjects related to the war.

State surveys of school adaptations to the war program were published by the University of the State of New York (4) for the public schools of New York and by Irons (26) for the Indiana schools. The Research Service of the Indiana State Teachers Association (1) also made a questionnaire survey of Indiana schools covering such adjustments as new courses offered, courses eliminated, new services added, and salary and budget adjustments. For example, ninety-five schools reported 163 new courses, chiefly in aeronautics, social studies, industrial arts, mathematics, health and physical education. Courses were eliminated chiefly in the field of foreign languages—eight French, five German, and four Latin.

### Special War Services

The Research Division of the National Education Association attempted to secure a rough measure of the quantity of certain kinds of special war work conducted in the schools. The summary, published as of September 1942 by the Educational Policies Commission (34), included the following specific items: \$80,000,000 in war bonds and stamps sold in elementary and secondary schools in the school year of 1941-42; 3,000,000 persons given training leading directly to employment in the war industries in the two years beginning in July 1940; 1,500 centers and 2,150 schools giving pre-employment training; 1,300 schools giving supplementary war industries training; 138 colleges giving training in science, engineering, and war production management; 14,000,000 Junior Red Cross members in the

schools; 1,000 Junior Red Cross detachments organized in three months; \$500,000 collected in schools for the Red Cross War Fund; 500,000 garments made by Junior Red Cross members for refugee children; 3,000,000 comfort and recreational articles made for the members of the armed forces; 169,000 acres of school victory gardens; 300,000 precisely scaled model airplanes made in the schools and delivered for use to the Army and Navy; 158,000 tons of waste paper collected in the schools; 38,000,000 hours devoted to rationing and selective service registrations by teachers in the school year of 1941-42.

### **Acceleration of Educational Programs**

At the public-school level, Edmiston, Dunton, and Kreider (13) surveyed eighty-eight Ohio counties on the introduction of a six-day school week. Only two schools were found to have tried such a schedule, although fifteen schools indicated their interest in the plan.

Most of the research on acceleration has been conducted with reference to college programs. A survey by Southwick (37) revealed that 102 out of 187 colleges had advanced the date of their 1942 commencement from one to five weeks and that 148 colleges were planning summer sessions of from eight to fifteen weeks. At the time of the survey very few colleges indicated any interest in admitting students before completion of their high-school courses. Tibbitts (39) conducted a study of student responses to plans for an accelerated year-round program at the University of Michigan in which the findings were correlated with income and draft status of the students. Forty-four percent were willing to return for a summer term, 34 percent were uncertain, and 22 percent said "no." Many more men were willing to return than women. The correlation between summer-attendance plans and student income suggests that some form of subsidy for low-income students would increase the speed with which trained man and woman power can be made available for war service.

A U. S. Office of Education questionnaire (16) on acceleration in colleges indicated that about 50 percent of the colleges and universities are on a year-round basis. An earlier survey of engineering institutions (19) showed that nearly 80 percent of the engineering schools had made plans for acceleration by the fall of this year.

### **Special Educational Services**

The schools of Rochester, New York; Akron, Ohio; and York, Pa., in cooperation with local civilian defense authorities, have made surveys of children's needs in these areas during the war emergency (20). Two surveys by the U. S. Office of Education on nursery schools and kindergartens (14, 15) indicate that more than one-third of the pupils enrolled in these schools during the past year were children of working mothers. Nearly all school systems in this study anticipated enlarged pre-elementary enrolments with attendant problems of arranging time schedules, transportation,



finding additional personnel, and adding new services for the different types of families served. The need for expanded services by all types of nursery schools and kindergartens (both public and private) was clearly indicated.

The Denver Defense Council made a cross-sectional survey (23) to determine adult interest in various types of volunteer war work as a basis for adult-training programs to be offered by the schools and the adult education council.

### Effect of the War on School Enrolments

Two studies on the effect of the war on college enrolments indicated that by the second semester of the academic year of 1941-42, an average 10 percent decrease was apparent. The Occupational Outlook Division of the Bureau of Labor Statistics based its estimate on a survey of seventy-three colleges (30). A study of enrolment in colleges in New York State from 1937-42 by Miller and Brooks (29) reached substantially the same conclusion. Miller and Brooks made a further analysis of enrolment trends according to types of training offered.

An analysis of private boarding-school enrolments made by N. W. Ayer and Son (36) revealed that 56 percent of the schools had equaled or exceeded previous years' enrolments by mid-July. Eighty percent of the nonmilitary boys' schools expected enrolment this year to equal or increase over last year, but only 35 percent of the vocational and professional schools expected to maintain their enrolments at as high a level as the previous year.

A study by Herlihy of the U. S. Office of Education (21) for the fall of 1941 showed a decrease over 1940 enrolments at all levels of the public school (elementary, junior high school, and high school) in cities of all size groups and in rural areas, although some schools had enormously increased enrolments due to population shifts as a result of war production employment.

### School Finances and the War

Grimm (25) prepared a statistical analysis of the effect of the First World War to cast light on the problems which will arise from the present war. The findings in terms of the Illinois educational system will be useful elsewhere.

The Research Division of the National Education Association (33) studied the effects which the war expenditures of the national government may be expected to have on state and local (and consequently school) revenues (a) by their effect on the national economy as a whole; (b) by federal encroachments on tax fields formerly left to state and local governments; and (c) by increased demands on local governments for services, particularly in the war production areas.

### Teacher Supply in Wartime

Certainly one of the chief problems of schools in wartime is maintaining adequate teaching personnel. Several studies have been made to document the opinion, widely held within the profession, that teaching shortages are critical.

A study made by Frazier (40) for the U. S. Office of Education indicated that shortages are most severe in vocational and special subjects, that is, music, art, physical education, public-school nursing, library education, science, and mathematics. Surpluses of teachers still exist in English, the social sciences, and foreign languages. These conditions are borne out by the study of Cumbee, Harless, and Mead for the public schools of Florida (40).

A survey made by Swanson (22) for the U. S. Office of Education on the situation with regard to teachers of vocational agriculture shows that 21 percent of the white teachers of that subject have left the field during the past year—a loss three times normal peacetime losses. Thirty-eight states reported that 602 departments of agriculture had been closed because of the lack of teachers.

From studies recently made by the National Education Association Research Division (32), it is possible to make the following roughly estimated balance sheet on the teacher supply and demand situation in 1942-43:

New teachers trained and ready for employment.....	50,000
Possible loss of new teachers to selective service and war work..	20,000
Net new supply.....	30,000
Annual normal demand for new teachers.....	80,000
Possible reduction in demand due to declining enrolments.....	5,000
Net demand.....	75,000
Net shortage.....	45,000

As a side light on the problem of maintaining adequate teaching personnel, the Office of Price Administration (17) has prepared charts which show the relative purchasing power of teachers' salaries in World War II and World War I as compared with their salaries.

### Other Research Studies of Educational Significance

The American Council on Education (31) made a survey of colleges and universities to estimate the supply of professionally trained manpower available in 1942 and January 1943.

Chambers (5) prepared a survey of school legislation since the beginning of the war. His survey covers legislation made to enable schools to contribute to the war effort more effectively, modifications of school transportation laws, increases in appropriations, measures to equalize educational services, and authorization for accelerated programs.

A simplified method of measuring mental deficiency as distinct from illiteracy and malingering in selective service registrants developed by Koenig and Smith (28) has educational uses.

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## CHAPTER III

### The Family, Education, and Child Adjustment

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THE SURVEY presented in this chapter has perforce left out much relevant literature. As a matter of fact, nearly two hundred titles comprised the initial bibliography from which the sixty-two here cited were selected as best representative of the last three years.

#### General Trends

Among the discernible trends of importance in the thinking of professional workers are the following: (a) There is a continuing growth of the wholistic emphasis—the whole child interacting with a total environment; nothing is irrelevant and everything matters. There is thus coming about a greater integration of a number of disciplines, such as biology, psychology, anthropology, sociology, economics, and education. (b) There is increasing awareness of the influence of cultural factors in the development of personality. (c) There is a too slowly decreasing gap between “experimental design” implicit in a large proportion of the recently published studies and the currently available best theory of experimental design. As this theoretical knowledge becomes the intellectual property of more research workers, progressive improvement in the validity and comprehensiveness of research findings may confidently be expected. (d) There is also a still growing awareness of the importance of the emotional climate of the family in all its personal interrelationships as a factor in the adjustment of children. (e) A corollary trend is an increasing appreciation of the fact that different members of the same family may live subjectively in widely varying emotional family climates. The family environment that is hygienic for one child may be thoroughly unhygienic for his sib. (f) The relative decrease in the importance of the home and the church as instruments of social control and in the development of personality is being paralleled by an increase in the relative importance of the school in these areas. The school is thus assuming relatively more of the responsibility that has traditionally belonged to the church and the home. It is important, however, to note the relativity of this proposition. The home is still the overwhelmingly important factor in child development.

Several books and general treatises have appeared during the three-year period covered by the present survey. Symonds (56) presented a highly intensive treatment of parent-child and other adult-child relationships, both summarizing the previous literature and providing important new data and formulations. Another factual treatment is that of Miller (44). He attempted some extrapolation of present trends in family life into the future. A sociological orientation characterizes Groves' textbook for advanced students (25). Arlitt's book (3) based upon case studies of married



couples from the University of Cincinnati consultation center emphasizes the normal in contrast to the abnormal. Hubbard (31) has written for parents an account of child development and adjustment in school. Baber (4), in addition to theoretical treatment, provides practical guidance for courtship, marriage, and family life. Gruenberg (28) directs to parents a discussion of both their intra- and extra-family responsibilities.

In the journal and monograph literature the following may be noted: Burgess and others (9) in a symposium stressed the impact of the cultural milieu upon the developing personality. Rademacher (49) ascribed great importance to the form of political government as a determiner of family pattern. Znaniecki (62) in a similar vein ascribed to the greater individualization of members of the family a degree of self-discipline and higher levels of ethics, intellect, and esthetics. Concerned with parent-youth conflict, Davis (17) also stressed cultural factors as determiners of such conflict. Drucker (18), by the questionnaire method, found evidence in contemporary American society for abdication of authority in family upbringing on the part of family, school, and church.

### Bibliographies

A number of bibliographies have been published. Goodenough (21, 23) divided some sixty annotated references in each of two successive years into technical and experimental studies on the one hand and nontechnical books and articles for parents and teachers on the other. Groves (26, 27) in addition to brief annotations stated the purpose for which each reference seemed best adapted. Komarovsky (35) provided a bibliography of 197 references. Stebbing and Hughes (51) gave references to material on child training and parent education in recent books. In the preschool range Koshuk (36) reviewed 525 research publications since 1925 and gave both general trends and suggestions for further research.

### War and the Family

Some professional literature has begun to appear concerning the effects of war conditions on family structure and function. Waller (58) indicated several of these effects: decay of family mores; removal of millions of persons from family groups; instability of marital relationships; and changes in birth rate, sex, and age ratios. Bossard (7) concluded from his analysis that some of these effects may be therapeutic. Gruenberg in a symposium (29) with several leading authorities dealt with not only the effect of the war on the family but also the family's role in the war effort. Appendixes give practical aids to parents and a children's charter in wartime. Sheviakov (50) suggested factors likely to alleviate the impact of war on adolescents. By implication in *The Cambridge Evacuation Survey* (32) a report was made based upon questionnaires answered by billeting officers and essays written by children of the effects on child evacuees of their removal from home and family. Adjustment was related inversely to chronological age and directly to presence of siblings in the same billet and frequency of

visits from parents. Considerations in selection of foster homes for evacuees are discussed. Burt (11) by the method of direct observation of evacuees obtained data on their neurotic symptoms which he compared with peacetime data for similar children.

### Measuring the Family Environment

Wellman (60) made a logical analysis of the concept of environment. McCormick (42) proposed empirical techniques for arriving at concepts of cultures and subcultures together with proposed quantitative analyses. Similarly Champney (14) considered the problem of hypothesizing relevant variables in the child's environment and their elaboration along lines of psychologically significant parent-child relationships. Seventy variables of parent behavior were thus obtained. Cattell (12a) found by correlational methods that social status and prestige are synonymous and presented a proposed metric scale of the concept. Lundberg (40) defended arithmetical procedures as applied to social and psychological scales and specifically to a social status scale. Factor analysis was applied by Guttman (30) to the intercorrelations of occupation, income, social participation, education, and Chapin's Social Status Scale for sixty-seven Negro homes. An  $r$  of .95 was obtained between reweighted Chapin Scale items and the status factor.

A method of appraising parent behavior in terms of a 30-variable rating scale was presented by Champney (13) along with its rationale. The intellectual nutritiveness of the environment of Negro youth is assayed by the rating scales furnished by Canady, Buxton, and Gilliland (12). Mosier (45) developed a Housing Index concerned with the material aspects of the home. A group test for the measurement of home environment was developed by Kerr (34) and the intercorrelations of its fifty items were studied by Tryon's method of cluster analysis. In addition to a total score the scale yields four part scores for an economic, an esthetic, a cultural, and an unnamed factor.

### Parent Knowledge and Attitudes

Several surveys have been made of parents' knowledge of the facts of child psychology and of their attitudes toward various kinds of child behavior. Thus McGehee and Lewis (43) reported that ratings by teachers of the attitudes of parents toward 45,000 children in thirty-six states as superior, average, and inferior were significant and positively related to the intellectual and emotional development of the children. Jaques (33) found extensive prevalence of miscomprehensions of parents regarding children's behavior problems. More than a third of 1,500 patients brought to the children's psychiatric clinic of the Johns Hopkins Hospital had been influenced by such misunderstandings. Coast (16), by means of a multiple-choice test administered to 166 parents, found that they differed appreciably from eight highly trained judges in attitude toward corporal punishment. Little or no difference was found in attitude toward praise,



self-expression, thumb-sucking, and preschool education. By a somewhat similar technique Gabriel (19) found specialists in child development more favorable than parents toward well-planned mixed swimming parties and dances in a good environment and less favorable toward conformity to social customs. Long (38) used an anonymous questionnaire to study parents' reports of undesirable behavior in 338 children of 277 families.

### **The Family and Intellectual Aspects of Children**

The 1940 Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (47) is the most ambitious attempt yet made to come to terms once again with the ancient nature-nurture problem. Limitations of space preclude any abstracting or evaluation of the many valuable contributions contained in these two volumes. It may be noted, however, that this yearbook even less than its 1928 predecessor produced harmony between the protagonists of "heredity" and "environment" as the major determinants of intelligence. The interested reader should be encouraged to challenge his preconceptions, if any, by reading the contributions which arrive at conclusions at variance with his own. Stoddard (52), the chairman of the yearbook committee, summarized the claims and counterclaims concerning the Iowa studies and reported a summary of the findings from research centers concerned with the effects of factors influencing the I. Q. The profound educational implications of the controversy and the major outcome of the yearbook effort, the sharpening of the concepts of heredity, environment, and I. Q., place these two volumes in the forefront of the scientific approach to educational problems.

Woodworth (61) evaluated and criticized constructively studies of the relative potency of heredity and environment through twins and foster children. He offered specific suggestions for further research. Goodenough (22) found a significant relationship between socio-economic status and birth month; she suggested this relationship as an explanation of the consistently observed relationship between intelligence and birth month. On the basis of a study of 1,023 intellectually superior graduates of twelve Milwaukee public high schools, Goetsch (20) found parental income more predictive of college-going than probable success in college.

### **The Family and the Development of Child Personality**

Macfarlane (41) concluded as the result of a comprehensive ten-year study of 252 children and their parents that the home contains the most important factors influencing behavior. Evidence emerged for the predominance of interpersonal relationships within the family over physical characteristics of the child as determiners of personality. Grant (24) obtained ratings on thirty-three preschool children by three observers on eleven behavior patterns. These ratings were related to five parental behavior characteristics obtained by a modified interview technique. Training programs instituted in ten homes with subsequent reratings of the children showed outstanding changes in personality in all subjects.

The possible constructive aspects of parental rejection were discussed by Burgum (10) on the basis of records of the Institute for Child Guidance. Independence, ability to amuse himself, the development of special interests, good social adjustment outside the home, and early maturity were found to be likely outcomes of parental rejection. At the second-grade level, Bonney (6) found that, on the basis of pupil choices of their associates, high social status was related to sex, cultural status of the home, size of family, and reading ability. Wasson (59) reported little difference between responses at three different grade levels—kindergarten, first, and second—to interviews on interfamilial relationships and suggested that educational activity on interfamilial relationships might profitably be begun in kindergarten. Reading failure was studied through interviews with parents and children by Preston (48) in terms of one hundred normal children who were reading failures compared with seventy-six controls. There were indications that such failure resulted in insecurity and serious maladjustment both in school and at home. Luecke (39) studied home background and socio-economic status of 370 children in Grades IV to VI as related to types of children's home activity. At the seventh- and eighth-grade levels, Brown (8) obtained from teachers behavior ratings of extreme deviates on a personality inventory and also measured the mothers' attitudes toward child behavior and parental control. Significant relationships were found between the teachers' ratings and pupils' inventory scores but not between these and mothers' attitudes.

Of three studies by Stott of parent-adolescent relationships, one (54) reported a questionnaire survey of three groups of approximately six hundred adolescents from farm, small town, and city with reference to parental behavior which they disliked. Low but significant negative relationships were found between criticism and personality scores. A second study (53) of apparently the same sample concerned itself with certain family life patterns and their relationship to personality development in children. Children of families characterized by a confidence, affection, and companionability pattern were superior to those of family discord pattern in personal adjustment, appreciative attitudes toward home life, and general personality development. In the third study (55) the rationale of the measurements of the two preceding was further developed together with correlations between the family life variable and a number of other measures.

Lander (37) found a high incidence of parental rejection, incompatibility, and instability among 116 delinquent boys, 99 of whom had suffered from one or more of these factors. At the junior high-school level, Anderson (1) studied 750 pupils by means of a guess-who rating scale technique and questioned them concerning the attitude and behavior of their parents toward them. Relatively low relationships were found between pupils' reports of parental attitudes and pupil behavior. A tendency appeared for pupils reporting rejecting parents to be judged by fellow pupils as quarrelsome, disobedient, nervous, or quick-tempered.

By means of groups of families approximately matched on ten variables,

Chapin (15) studied the effect of moving one of the groups from a slum to a housing project. After an interval of a year the experimental group showed gain in social participation, social status, living-room furnishings and decrease in "use-crowdedness" of their homes. No significant changes in morale and general adjustment were found.

Thorndike (57), on the basis of data concerning siblings and twins, urged the discovery and use of the degree of familial resemblance in "general average excellence" as a basis for selection in any scientific eugenic program. Bolles, Metzger, and Pitts (5) measured factors in the early home environments of 142 women mental patients and 150 controls. More evidence of unfavorable early home environment factors was found for the psychiatric patients than for the normal women.

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## CHAPTER IV

### Child Socialization and the School

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#### Introduction

EDUCATORS AND OTHER STUDENTS of human development increasingly are viewing human learning as a function of the total biological and social history of the learner. It seems clear also that all new learning involves the changing of previously learned behavior. Since social behavior is learned, these principles indicate that what the child learns in his school culture is influenced by what he learns in his social life outside of school and what he has learned before he entered school.

In order, therefore, to help the child substitute new goals for old and to build up new responses through new motivation, the teacher needs to be aware of the total social environment of the child, including his family, neighborhood, and social class culture. His socialization in these groups largely determines what aspects of the school culture are experienced by him as either punishing or rewarding. This review will therefore include research dealing with both (a) the socialization of children outside of school, so far as this affects school behavior, and (b) the socialization of the child in the culture of the school.

Socialization is the lifelong process by which the human organism develops its primary drives and emotions into the *socially controlled motivations* which are expected and rewarded by his society. Socialization thus refers to (a) the selection by a society of certain *specific* behaviors out of all the psychological responses and cultural forms possible to human beings, and (b) the stamping in of this behavior as "proper" by the association with it of rewards. In this sense, socialization is the process of learning to become a Samoan, an urban Englishman, a New Yorker, or a small-town American, of a certain sex, age-group, ethnic group, and social class.

If people of different cultures cannot associate intimately, they cannot learn one another's special forms of language, manners, morals, and social goals. Within our own society there are such limitations, with their attendant cultural differences, arising out of social stratification. These ethnic and social class cultures are significant in determining what a child's social environment *offers* him in the way of models for imitation and identification, of cultural incentives and goals. It seems likely, upon the basis of recent intensive studies of the social structure of American communities (62, 63) and of the personality development of children (15), that a social class culture is an integrative pattern which influences the behavior of *all* the groups in which the child of that cultural level is socialized.

The child always learns his basic cultural habits and values in relationships to people organized into groups, each with its own mores, symbols, and values. For the preschool and elementary-school child, the most im-

portant of these cultural groups are the immediate family, the neighborhood play-group, the neighborhood adults, the social class acquaintances (social clique) of his parents and self, and his school age-group and play-group. In these cultural relationships the child learns those basic developmental tasks and social roles which the group defines as appropriate to his age and sex status. Throughout the rest of this review, the constructs of (a) *the basic social groups* in which the child participates and (b) *the primary developmental tasks and social roles* which he is expected to learn in these groups will be used to organize the various discrete researches.

### Theories of Socialization

During the last three years, theories of socialization have received increased attention from anthropologists and sociologists, as well as from workers in the field of psychology and human development. One of the most important theoretical contributions was made by Warner (61) upon the basis of research on the status system of a modern community in New England. He pointed out that since there are a great number of highly differentiated social statuses in our society it follows (a) that there are a great many different goals of socialization, depending upon the individual's social position, and (b) that the criteria for judging an individual's success in adjustment are, therefore, entirely relative to his social position and his social goals. Other writers, including Benedict (4), Cottrell (10), A. Davis (13), K. Davis (17), Linton (37), Mead (42), and Parsons (51), have emphasized the importance of age-sex roles and their hierarchies with especial stress upon the fact that children of the same chronological age are expected to exhibit different levels of social and sexual maturity in different cultures.

The findings of research dealing with the social development of children have been integrated by J. Anderson (2), Koshuk (36), and Murphy (47). A concerted effort has been made by a group of psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists at the Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, to develop a theory of social learning. Dollard (20) and his colleagues have applied the Clark Hull formulation of S-R learning theory to the Freudian principles (a) that aggression is a response to frustration and (b) that the proper direction of aggression is one of the prime objects of socialization in our society. Miller and Dollard (44) then attempted a rigorous experimental study of a second process in social learning, imitation. The fact that imitation usually leads to reward seems to account for its prominence in early socialization. Mowrer (45, 46) advanced the useful theory that socially inculcated anxiety is a major instigation in social learning. This concept, that the child who learns is reinforced not only by rewards but also by diminution of anxiety, was applied by Davis and Dollard (15), Hallowell (27), and Whiting (64) to life-history and observational materials dealing with the socialization of individuals in both American and preliterate cultures.

The concept of developmental tasks as forms of cultural adjustment



expected of the child and rewarded by his society was emphasized by Havighurst, Prescott, and Redl (29). Since this construct attempted to interrelate the physical, social, and personality learning of the child, it seemed to offer (a) a basis for integrating the widely divergent findings on child development, and (b) an inclusive framework for new research.

### **Socialization in the Family**

Although in the past fifty years the family has lost many of its functions in the socialization of the child, the developmental tasks and roles which the child learns in his family still include the basic mores of our society, as Kardiner (34) has pointed out. He and Linton have considered the impact upon the social development of the child of different family structures, ranging from the typical American family to that in a primitive society, where a woman has several spouses at the same time and is both economically and sexually dominant over the males in the family. Erikson (22) has observed that the early family education of children among the Sioux is supported by the total culture of that society and is therefore more permanent than the training which the government schools attempt.

Within our own society, further evidence that maladjustments are more frequent among individuals socialized in relationships with parents who are either neurotic or underprivileged or both, has been presented by Bolles, Metzger, and Pitts (6); Jaques (32); and Symonds (57). The effect of the different types of family structure and family training in the various social classes in inculcating characteristic drives and goals in children has been studied by A. Davis (14), Gardner and Gardner (16), and Nimkoff (48). Parental disagreement with regard to the training demands made upon the child has been attributed by Davis and Dollard (15) and Macfarlane (39) to differences between the parents themselves with regard to their own early socialization and class status. K. Davis (18) has pointed to the rapid rate of social change and the weak definition of authority in our society as the chief sources of conflicts between parents and children. With the war causing the extension of the services of day nurseries, nursery schools, and of governmental provisions for family aid, Burgess (8) foresaw a further decrease in the functions of the family in socializing even very young children.

### **Socialization in Play Group and Nursery School**

During the preschool years the child is learning to become a member of a group of age-mates. At the same time he is learning appropriate sex roles—what it means to be a boy or a girl. And he is freeing himself from his infantile attachment to his parents. The evidence seems fairly clear that certain basic social and emotional habit patterns are learned during these years and are fairly well established by the age of eight. Van Alstyne and Hattwick (59) found that the behavior of children in Grades I to VI of the elementary school parallels the earlier behavior of these same children

in nursery school. A number of studies have shown that experience in nursery school increases the ability of a child to participate in a social group of his own age (28, 33). Horowitz and Smith (30) noted that the effect of nursery-school training seems to be to increase active forms of behavior, whether socially destructive or constructive, and to decrease inactive behavior. H. Anderson (1) continued his important studies of dominative and integrative behavior, finding further evidence that dominative behavior on the part of children or teachers incites dominative behavior in return, and integrative or cooperative behavior stimulates the same type of behavior. Wright (65) studied the constructiveness of play among children aged three to six who had been paired on the basis of strength of friendship. Under frustrating conditions the play of strong friends was more constructive than was that of weaker friends, leading to the inference that membership in a group increases the feelings of security of children at these ages.

### **Socialization in School Groups**

During the elementary- and secondary-school periods the developmental tasks of preschool life are constantly redefined according to age and sex. The development of autonomous moral judgment comes during this period. Learning appropriate sex and age roles becomes essential for winning status with one's age-mates and securing the approval of one's parents. Age and sex roles are complicated in adolescence by the need to adjust to physiological changes in the body. The adolescent achieves a new orientation to age-mates of both sexes and wins psychological independence from the parents. The school class is a social group which teaches these tasks and roles. Finley (23) has described the classroom as a social group. He found that the class group becomes increasingly able to organize its own activity and to work for longer periods of time without adult control as age increases from eight to fourteen. Lippitt (38) and McCandless (41) studied the interpersonal relations of children when under various types of adult leadership. Lippitt found that the amount of dominating behavior on the part of children decreases when the type of adult leadership shifts from autocratic to democratic. McCandless found that dominance becomes less highly correlated with popularity among age-mates when a group passes from autocratic to democratic adult leadership.

*Sociometric techniques*—The past three years have been notable for an extensive application of sociometric techniques to the study of the social structure of school classes. The sociometric technique of Moreno has proved especially useful in the hands of classroom teachers. Although used principally at the elementary-school level, this technique has also been applied at the secondary-school and college levels. Franz (24) has given a useful survey of sociometric methods. Northway (49) gave directions for administering, scoring, and interpreting a sociometric test in the intermediate grades. Elliott (21) presented characteristic sociograms of a fifth-

grade class and described some uses to which this kind of knowledge can be put by the classroom teacher. Kerstetter and Sargent (35) observed with sociometric techniques the formation of a group of boys in a fifth-grade class which developed a delinquent pattern. When preventive measures were taken by seating members of this group so that they were dispersed among other groups, the boys became members of new groups and made a better social adjustment. Bonney (7) studied the social structure of a second-grade group and found that favored status was concentrated with a few pupils, that it was relatively stable, and that girls had a more favorable status than boys. Other studies, by Barker (3), Criswell (11), Hunt and Solomon (31), and Zeleny (66), throw light on the individual's development of social status with his age-mates.

### **Socialization in Peer Groups outside of School**

The child's age-mates—his peers—gain importance in his life as he progresses through school. Their influence over him reaches a peak during adolescence. This influence is exerted through social approval and disapproval. Each age-group has its own culture, which it learns from those above it and passes on to the age-group next in line. The culture of a group of age-mates is given the generic name "peer culture." The peer culture flourishes outside of school and makes its presence felt in the school. Furfey (25) stressed the importance of study of groups and their influence upon adolescents. Stolz, Jones, and Chaffey (56) have made a preliminary report on the peer culture of junior high-school pupils, which is amplified in Meek's book (43). These studies show that social behavior changes radically and rapidly during the junior high-school period, with the pace set by girls, who are physically and socially more mature than boys. Tryon (58) reported on the results of a series of "Guess-Who" tests, showing that the personal attributes associated by boys and girls with popularity or high status during the junior high-school years change between the ages of twelve and fifteen.

Smith (55) asked public-school boys and girls aged eight to fourteen to vote as to whether boys or girls possess to a greater degree each of nineteen desirable and fourteen undesirable traits. Each sex thought better of itself than of the opposite sex, but the proportion of both sexes whose opinion favored boys increased with age. Campbell (9) worked out a scale for estimating social development of elementary-school boys and the girls based upon knowledge which any observing teacher would have concerning her pupils.

Shaw (54) has added another to his series of case studies of juvenile delinquents in Chicago. He showed the development of criminal behavior to be a process of socialization beginning in the preschool years and continuing with the peer culture of a disorganized urban area which exerted its influence through delinquent play groups and criminal gangs.

Organized youth groups, such as the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, and the 4-H Clubs, might be expected to exert a considerable socializing influence.

The few studies which have been made of these groups are inconclusive on these points. What is needed is a series of studies using the concepts and techniques reviewed in this chapter. Such studies are now being made of the Boy Scouts and of certain of the rural youth organizations.

### **Socialization in Social Cliques**

The developmental tasks and social roles of childhood and adolescence are learned partly through a group of age-mates known as the social clique. This is the group with which a boy or girl is most intimate. It consists, in the main, of children of families of the same social status. However, a socially mobile youth may become a member of a social clique with higher status than that of his own family. The membership of a social clique is controlled by the parents as much as possible. In the social clique the child learns to perform his developmental tasks and his social roles in the ways that are approved by a particular social class. Davis and Dollard (15) studied the socialization of Negro youth in New Orleans and found the social clique to be an important influence. Gardner, Gardner, and Loeb (26) studied the social cliques of children in a small southern city and found that the method of sectioning children in the public school according to teachers' estimates of ability tended to throw the children of upper- and middle-class families together and to segregate them from lower-class children. Warner (60) summarized several studies on social cliques among school children.

### **Socialization in Early Adult Society**

Developmental tasks of late adolescence in our society are achieving occupational skill and economic independence, finding a mate and making a home, and becoming a socially responsible citizen. Our society makes the first of these tasks basic, especially for middle-class youth. Marriage is usually not approved unless economic independence has first been won. Certain difficulties stand in the way of achieving these tasks, difficulties which vary from one social class to another. David (12) has described the barriers to employment of lower-class youth which had been raised prior to the war. For youth of the middle class there is a protracted educational preparation necessary for a career and difficult economic requirements for marriage. Bloss (5) has described the economic and sexual controls upon unmarried middle-class youth. These controls do not operate so strictly upon lower-class youth, who obtain some of the social and sexual privileges of adults in their middle or late teens. War has more recently placed a further handicap upon all young people. For, while it places heavy responsibility upon youth, it does not permit them to achieve the developmental tasks that are essential to family and community life.

The responses of youth to this situation during the past two decades have been various. A great number of young people have emigrated from depressed rural and urban areas in search of better educational, economic,

and social opportunities (40, 53). Burgess (8) has reported that young people are developing a single standard of sexual morality with a transition to a "companionate type of marriage." Many young people have put off the achievement of their developmental tasks by staying in school, so that, as Reuter (52) has pointed out, the secondary school became in part a custodial institution for the care of an age-group without a social function. As a fourth response, the older and more politically minded young people formed political pressure groups such as the American Youth Congress with the aim of securing better opportunity to achieve their developmental tasks. All these responses need to be studied and evaluated as a means of throwing light on problems of postwar readjustment for youth.

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## CHAPTER V

### Adapting the School to the Changing Social Scene

SAMUEL EVERETT

**M**ILITARY LEADERS, the general public, and many individuals in the educational profession are now stressing the importance of training in specific skills in subjects such as mathematics, the sciences, and physical education. Practical skills of this type are necessary to the successful prosecution of the war. It is legitimate that the subjects in school and college which can furnish specific types of war training be streamlined to such an end. It is not always seen, however, that the social studies, democratic school programs, and community educational programs are quite as necessary to the winning of the war and the establishment of a just and lasting peace. The use of school buildings; the cooperation of teachers with civilians in defense and educational programs; the study of such subjects as war propaganda, economic geography, the causes of war, and the ideals and techniques necessary to winning the war and the peace—all these promise to do much to orient public schools in the direction of their true function, namely, the guidance of people of all ages in meeting more intelligently the problems of life—personal, community, national, and international. It seems appropriate in this period of uncertainty to examine a sampling of educational programs which have in the last few years been moving in the direction of a more adequate social education.

#### Social Education for Rural Children and Adults

The W. K. Kellogg Foundation, Battle Creek, Michigan, (19) has conducted during the past eleven years a far-reaching program in community education in seven rural counties in Michigan. It has stressed the improvement of community health, education, welfare, and recreation. There has been an emphasis on giving assistance to local community agencies, particularly the schools, rather than in developing new agencies.

Through the financial aid of the Kellogg Foundation, several thousand teachers, principals, ministers, members of boards of education, dentists, and health officials have been given special courses, scholarships, and other educational opportunities. Otto and others (28) described in considerable detail the educational and health studies carried on in community workshops. Otto (26) compiled from reports of 156 classroom teachers in twenty-five graded elementary schools the administrative problems growing out of changes made in classroom practices. Otto (27) also reported the ways in which 193 teachers have discussed and evaluated changes in classroom teaching made during 1937-39 in one-room rural schools as a result of the Foundation's program. Schutt (37) produced a pictorial study which illustrates what has happened in Van Buren County. Schatz-

mann (36) described another unusual school and community program developed by a single teacher in a district school in Isabella County.

Another experimental program is the one financed by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. The University of Kentucky, with the help of this foundation, is carrying on an experiment in a number of rural communities aimed at improving diet and food habits by the introduction of functional study units and materials in the schools. Seay and Clark (38) described this program in a progress report. In contrast to the Kellogg venture, this program does not emphasize working with adults, local leaders, and community agencies; the experiment is confined largely to the introduction of new curriculum materials and practices in the schools. Mimeographed stories, dealing with urgent local economic problems, such as *We Make A Garden* and *Let's Learn About Goats*, replace or supplement traditional "lessons," such as *The Canterbury Tales*. To determine dietary practices at the beginning of the study, surveys were made, in experimental and control communities, of school lunches and of food storage in the homes. The Educational Film Institute has produced two films, "And So They Live" and "The Children Must Learn," which deal with child life and learning under the unfavorable conditions found in many rural environments.

The war, with its emphasis on national unity, has stimulated an increase of interest in the education of children and adults of different racial stocks. Whiting (47) described the Negro education program in Georgia as it has developed over a period of years. This program featured the in-service training of Jeanes county supervisors and teachers in fifty-nine counties. The work is characterized by cooperative study, planning, execution of plans, and appraisal of results. Demonstration centers have been developed, and there is an emphasis on improving social and economic life through the study and community activities of pupils, teachers, and adults. As in the Sloan Foundation work, special curriculum materials have been produced for Georgia Negro schools, such as units on "Construction of a Sanitary Well," "Growing Georgia Peaches," and "Using Georgia Clay." The improvement of homes and home living is an essential part of the school program.

Academic courses and school procedures are too often imposed on cultural groups who have inadequate social backgrounds for understanding them. Tireman (45) outlined a meaningful program of social education in the Spanish-speaking community of Nambe in the mountains of northern New Mexico. There was an attempt to discover and to meet the real interests and needs of these children. Study and school activities dealt with such subjects as gardens, pets, farm animals, milk, clothing, preservation of foods, irrigation, and land uses. School grounds and community resources furnished a laboratory for the school.

Hulsizer (16) reported on the educational program among the Oglala Sioux of southwestern South Dakota as conducted by the U. S. Office of Indian Affairs. Since a high percentage of these young people remain on

reservations, schooling was related closely to everyday life in the grazing country. Literature dealing with the plains, the care of livestock, growing of feed, marketing, homemaking, cooking, and cooperative economics was put to practical test in experiences arranged by the school. Indian history and folklore were studied with the view of engendering respect for tribal traditions.

### Town and City School Programs

Hoiberg (15) described a school program in the predominantly Danish and Scandinavian town of Askov, Minnesota. Here old world habits and languages were taught, folk songs sung, Danish gymnastics, festivals, dances, and costumes revived and revalued. Ring (32) described the life and work of the community-centered Jackson School, located in an underprivileged Italian and Polish neighborhood of St. Louis, Missouri. Her title, "Whatever the Need," described the work of this school in giving social guidance and training to children and adults alike. The school cared for children of two to five years of age, thus relieving mothers who worked. Citizenship classes were held for adults, and young people were encouraged to attend school dances. Conventional types of homework, daily assignments, grades, and punishment were largely discontinued, to be replaced by a cooperative attack on the real problems of living.

School and community education in land areas developed by the federal government are of interest in a survey of social education. Probably the best is to be found at Norris, Tennessee, in the Tennessee Valley Authority region. Children in the elementary division come only from Norris, while those in high school come from the village and the surrounding area. The program itself is flexible and seeks to meet the needs of all age levels. Kendall (20) described the extensive health education service which the school has conducted in cooperation with local and state agencies and the TVA. This work includes physical examinations, correction of remedial defects, home visits, adult education, home nursing, hot lunches at school, and community programs of immunization, sanitation, and control of disease. Seay and McGlothlin (39) described a similar program at Wilson Dam.

In the public-school system at Springfield, Missouri, democratic social education is the dominant theme. In a recent pictorial report (43), students, teachers, and community representatives analyzed the essential features of a democratic activity program. The extent to which teachers and administrators have worked out problems together was illustrated by the schoolboard's acceptance in general of the group's recommendation for salary increases. Rucker (33) has described the uses made of community resources in the elementary schools of the Springfield system.

The schools of Glencoe, Illinois, have continued the democratically oriented program described in 1938 (11). The board of education (12) has published a pictorial booklet, written largely by parents and illustrated wholly by children's drawings. This report is appropriately entitled *To-*



gether *We Learn*. It presents essential facts concerning education and suggests ways in which parents can work and play with their children. Teachers' committees have assumed many administrative responsibilities (13). Sutherland (44) discussed the coordination of local community agencies in the Glencoe Community Coordination Council, established as a result of school leadership.

The schools of Santa Barbara, California, have stressed social education. Lamoreaux and others (22) outlined a "culture building program" intended to develop mutual respect and understanding among various ethnic groups. This work was thought to be so important that the board of education established a special coordinator of community cultural contacts. Community exhibits, pageants, extensive use of intercultural materials, and the development of educational programs for all ages have been stressed. As a result of a study (35) by a workshop committee of sensitivities in ethnic-group relations, Santa Barbara teachers have become increasingly concerned about democratic social attitudes and have made significant changes in their classrooms. A county curriculum guide (34) reported an analysis of the problems found in teaching intercultural attitudes.

### **Social Education for Rural High-School Youth**

A promising type of statewide social education for high-school youth is reported by the Wisconsin State Committee for Rural Community High Schools (48). In this study, the department of public instruction and the Department of Rural Sociology of the University of Wisconsin cooperated with twenty-two rural high schools in making and utilizing community surveys for the improvement of instruction. The general survey was planned with the cooperating high-school principals, and it provided many opportunities through which students could grow in their understanding of social situations. Areas of study included community history, community services, family backgrounds and parental occupation, and national and religious affiliations. Freedom was allowed for each school to initiate variations in the study in accordance with local interests and conditions.

Numerous secondary-school programs in southern states are moving in the direction of vital democratic community education. The Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools has carried on, since 1936, a comprehensive program of improvement in thirty-three selected schools (42). The Moultrie, Georgia, High School is one of the participating schools. Everett (10) described this school and community program. Teachers have surveyed local needs and revised the school's work in light of these needs. This school operates a cooperative market, through which rural pupils sell farm products, and a nonprofit-making cannery run by high-school students. It has given educational leadership throughout Colquitt County, especially in respect to health and beautification campaigns. Sizable groups of teachers from one-room schools in the county have participated in five-week study programs in art and music under the

supervision of the Moultrie School. The school system itself has been stimulated by participation in the work of the Commission on Teacher Education (2).

The program of another school in the Southern Association Study has been discussed by the Civic Education Staff of the Educational Policies Commission (9). The Holtville High School at Deatsville, Alabama, has conducted for several years a social education program of countywide scope. A survey indicated that farm families in the area could add an average of \$300 per year to their income by the proper growing, canning, and preservation of fruits and vegetables. Pupils and teachers at the Holtville School are "learning by doing" this and other needed work. They have operated a refrigeration plant, a school cannery, a chick hatchery, motion pictures, and a school-town newspaper. A games loan library is widely used by young and old. Agricultural and home economics teachers in particular have assisted men and women, as well as young people, in improving the quality of everyday life.

At the Pine Mountain, Kentucky, Settlement School, boys and girls practice social group living through performing the numerous services necessary to community life. Morris (25) described a range of activities on the farm, in the kitchen, in residential centers, and in the community. The various kinds of services carried on in outlying one-room schools and cabin homes furnished a realistic picture of youth who learn by serving others. A pamphlet (30) by a school "co-op class" described the operation of the Pine Mountain school cooperative.

The Carpinteria Union High School, in California, has been improving the quality of its life and work since the early thirties. Everett (10) reported various studies made by committees of teachers and used in reorganizing the curriculum. These studies included data on the nature of the community, population, pupil drop-outs, community health, and other information necessary for school guidance and evaluation. A high percentage of school parents are Mexicans who work in the citrus fruit industry. School work in agriculture, in home economics, and in health has provided practical help to pupils in meeting individual needs. This school was also discussed by Greenough (14).

The Allen-White High School (9) for Negro boys and girls in Whiteville, Tennessee, is also close to the life of its community. Most of the Negro farmers in Hardeman County are tenants and many lost their farms in the depression of the thirties. They believe in education and have courageously supported the school. NYA residence boys and girls have worked with high-school students in constructing new school buildings, improving school grounds and the homes of parents. Courses in domestic service, agriculture, industrial arts, and home economics are of major importance. About one-fourth of the high-school graduates go to college.

Work experience has furnished a new type of social education for youth in schools, combining study with useful and needed labor. Jacobson (17) discussed a number of these work programs. In 1940, the American Youth

Commission established the Rural Project, and this has provided leadership in a number of localities in Georgia, Iowa, Michigan, Ohio, and Virginia. Brunner (4) and Coyle (8) have summarized these services to rural young people.

### Town and City Youth Programs

Pierce (29) has described at length the Wells High-School program in Chicago's near northside. The school is located in a section where unemployment, economic need, poor housing, and high delinquency are major problems. Program changes have made the school more meaningful to boys and girls whose homes are submarginal in almost all respects. While conventional subjectmatter organization is still in effect, content materials, especially in English, social studies, science, and mathematics, have been chosen to contribute to seven major "themes" in daily living (46). These themes are work, social relations, health, thought and its communication, leisure, economic consciousness, and ethical-spiritual character. A diversified student activity program, in which all pupils participate, is intended to provide a kind of recreation that the neighborhood so largely lacks. A school health center gives guidance in this aspect of daily living. The total program of the school is made realistic in terms of student needs by use of extensive information regarding community resources and opportunities.

Covello (7) discussed the community program of the Benjamin Franklin High School, located in East Harlem, New York City. While the area is comparable to that served by the Wells High School, the predominate ethnic group here is Italian rather than Polish. The Committee for Racial Cooperation (23) has outlined the ways by which this high school has built concepts of racial democracy. The school has taken leadership in dealing with other community problems. The Civic Education Staff of the Educational Policies Commission (9) has described the successful attempt of the school's committee on housing to bring a federal housing project to East Harlem. The same reference discussed the establishment of the friends and neighbors club by pupils, teachers, and parents.

The war has accentuated the importance of understandings between the dominant white majority in the United States and Negro and Japanese minorities. Knobbs (21) discussed the study of race relations in the South as conducted in a high school in Kirksville, Missouri. This study began in a class that agreed to make a local survey of Negro life but interest soon spread throughout the school. The English department developed a unit of work on Negro literature, and the study of *Green Pastures* led to the writing and production of several original plays. The speech club, debating club, and student forum all initiated programs on race relations. In business education, mathematics, agriculture, and home economics, studies were launched on Negro needs, handicaps, and vocational progress.

Interracial education in areas with a high percentage of Japanese is

much more difficult. Cary (5) outlined the program of the McKinley High School, in Honolulu, Hawaii, a school where the great majority of students are first-generation Orientals. A core studies program (24), i.e., a combination of social studies and English, has served as the most important intercultural educational center. Here Japanese youth are educated in the ways and meanings of American culture. They study our history, democratic traditions, foreign policy, propaganda, and civil liberties. They perfect their use of English and they practice democracy in classrooms and school organizations.

In communities of native American stock, Everett (10) described the education of youth in the Eugene High School in Oregon. The emphasis here, as in examples previously discussed, was on understanding and practicing democracy in school and in the community. This work was taught, in the main, in a social living course, in student council activities, and in a democratically organized teaching and administrative staff. Students made factual studies of such topics as the "isms" of the modern world, the effects of nationalism on democracy, and the meaning of democracy in daily living. Johnson (18) has made a detailed analysis of the guidance program.

Pupils, teachers, administrators, and parents evaluated the experimental program carried on by the New School, a part of the Evanston Township High School, in cooperation with Northwestern University (31). The chief feature of this school was the core work, consisting of two periods a day for four years in the study of personal-social problems, literature, and English skills. With no subjectmatter determined in advance, core teachers became the guidance councilors for their pupils. Pupils' interests and needs determined the scope and sequence of the core program, and desirable relationships in work and play were stressed. Arndt (3) reported experimental work done in the foreign language classes of this school. Parents take an active part in the program, visiting classes, attending staff meetings, studying adolescent problems, raising funds, and assisting in periodic evaluations of pupil growth.

Committees of students, parents, and teachers of the Shorewood High School (40), in Wisconsin, have issued a digest of their thinking on personal-social problems in the school and the community. The document formulated desirable standards of pupil behavior in the use of money at private parties, in school affairs, and social clubs. The teachers (41) have indicated their own contributions to the democracy of the school and Everett (10) has described the curriculum and guidance programs.

Aiken and Aiken (1) summarized the Thirty School Study of the Progressive Education Association. One of these schools, the George School, near Philadelphia, is a boarding school under the auspices of the Society of Friends. The Civic Education Staff (9) reported the extent to which democratic principles have been applied in every aspect of school life. Students have produced a statement on "Democracy at George School." Members of the Girls' Social Guild visit homes in emergency

situations to clean, cook, and care for children, and they assist in a nearby nursery school. The Guild supports a classroom in a Negro school in South Carolina.

Chamberlin and others (6) have evaluated the so-called thirty school experiment. Their findings indicated, among other things, the satisfactory adjustments made in college classrooms and campus situations by students from these schools in comparison with control groups of students from more traditional schools.

### In Conclusion

The above descriptions of promising school-community programs contain many suggestions for needed research. Experimentation with techniques for the study and use of community resources, the development of democratic administrative procedures, democratic teaching in the classroom, evaluation of democratic purposes, sociological research on the meaning of democracy and on specific problems in democratizing our society are a few of the many ways in which teachers and administrators can seek to improve social living in the school and the community.

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## CHAPTER VI

### Education for Community Unity and Action

LLOYD ALLEN COOK

AS USUALLY THOUGHT OF, society is a social structure, held together by custom. It is maintained by the historical fact of culture transmission, the function of which is to weave and reweave the "common understandings" in which all persons share, the "web of life" in which each has a part. Always there is the pattern of imposition, the effect of which is conformity, but always, too, there are individuating influences, such as competition and conflict. Every social system has had to reconcile these two kinds of processes—stability and change, security and freedom. Every community, i.e., "society organized locally," has had to deal with the problem of social unity—and unity in wartimes becomes an imperative social value.

#### The Fact of Community Disunity

In pursuit of these leads, sociologists have developed a sizable literature. Reviewers (37, 64) have interpreted findings under such categories as "cultural lag," "cultural conflict," "social maladjustment," "individual nonparticipation," "loss of consensus," and "institutional disorganization." Angell (8), in a searching critique of American groups and institutions, found societal integration endangered by the rise of "rampant group individualism." Zimmerman (90), using reaction to crisis as a test, reported for the small towns studied a general "decline of localism," a marked "increase of disunity." Lindeman (51) viewed "bigness" as destructive of democracy, and Morgan (63) regarded the preservation of the small community as "one of the greatest issues of our times." Current trends have been generalized by Burgess (15) as a movement from "sacred to secular society," by Cook (21) as transition from "primary to secondary modes of living," and by Redfield (70) as a change from "folk to urban culture."

The inescapable conclusion to be drawn from this sample of sociological studies is the long-time drift of our culture toward disunity. This is not to be interpreted as a depression effect or as a consequence of World War I or II, for Frederic Le Play observed much the same phenomenon eighty years ago. Writers have noted what has been called the revival of urban neighborliness, such as "share-the-car" and "block plan" of defense organization. These are, however, surface changes. Over the long expanse of time, the effect of war has usually been to speed up existing trends, not to reverse them nor to initiate new ones.

### The School's Community Services

Community services, as reported in the REVIEW for February 1940, have been studied further. Uses of community resources were canvassed by Spears (76) in respect to the curriculum, by Corey (27) for pupil guidance, and by Henry (42) for school interpretation. War conditions, particularly in rural areas (55), have all but eliminated school trips. Rath (69) analyzed the meanings given to the concept of "experiencing," Cook (23) discussed the major types of problems found in field experience programs, and Wingo (88), in a study of eighty units of work in "activity schools," concluded that practice is not in accord with experimentalism as a theory of learning. The role of camping in child development has been re-examined by leading educators and camp directors in a special issue of *The Camping Magazine* for February 1942.

Some 160 examples of school effort at direct community improvement via youth services were reported by Mitchell (62) under the headings of civic changes, bettering agriculture, soil and forest conservation, developing cooperatives, pest control, handicrafts, health, housing, communications, and school plant and equipment. While such activities are clearly increasing, we still know very little in an exact sense concerning their effects on either the community or the school. For this reason, the work of Seay and others (74), under long-term grants-in-aid, in the experimental improvement of rural housing and diet, is of great importance. After exploratory surveys and pupil tests, new curriculum materials and practices were introduced into the schools of selected areas, and resultant changes will be compared with conditions in control communities. Progress reports have not as yet attempted a final appraisal.

In wartimes, the school becomes the final link in a chain which reaches through state and region to the national capital and beyond. Rationing, stamp sales, defense classes, and the like, have expanded the school's importance as an adult community service center. School participation in local, county, and state defense councils has been reviewed in a score of State Department and local bulletins, with Michigan (34) outstanding in cooperative school and community relations.

School-made community surveys have appeared in some number (20) and here, as in manuals of the "how to study" type (66, 82), there has been a continued emphasis on external social facts and conditions rather than on the divergent group norms and values that make community cooperation difficult or impossible. Rowland's study (72) of radio as a carrier of mass cultural values, often in conflict with local viewpoints and values, is suggestive of present research needs. A survey (11) of the "community knowledge" possessed by 915 sixth-, ninth-, and eleventh-grade pupils in Chicago Heights, Illinois, confirmed the findings of an earlier New York Regents' inquiry (87). Both studies supported the conclusion that "neither school nor life, as each is now set up, teach children the elemental social facts on which good citizenship must be based."

While neither test of "community knowledge" is above serious criticism, this line of inquiry would appear worthy of further follow-up.

### **Educating for Group Unity and Action**

Our strength in war or peace can be no greater than our internal unity. Strikes, sabotage, espionage, race prejudice, class cleavages, agency conflicts, petty politics, exorbitant profits, witless hoarding, and irresponsible talk have slowly focused attention on the fact of community disunity. A standard school prescription for meeting the problem is "more history." Not more history but "better history," appears to be needed, i.e., "dramatic incidents, great characters" and the like, along with pupil-managed activities, "life-centered" readings and films, participation in youth and adult groups, student-teacher planning, and student war service activities.

Bryan and Spaeth (14) analyzed teacher-student roles in the democratic operation of five study halls in a senior high school of 340 pupils. Giles (38) described current classroom planning practices in a number of progressive schools and discussed the general planning process. Turner (81), in a survey of 1,207 courses of study in elementary social studies for 1917-24 and 1935-39, found marked increases in (a) the teaching of social consciousness and habits, (b) uses of materials within the environment of the child, and (c) unification of subject areas. Textbooks by Hanna and others (40) and Chapman (18), for intermediate grades, have made community problems concrete in impressive ways; yet there is no conception of these issues as clashes in basic social values (37, 64), a situation almost as typical at the high-school level. Man's struggle, as depicted, is against nature, not in and against the free standing, self-seeking, aggressive groups that Angell (8) described.

Kelley (45) surveyed student government by analyzing 152 charters and 1,801 questionnaire replies from high schools "in every state in the Union." The picture was one of adult control and formal student goals and activities. Corey and Froehlich (28) sought to increase pupil acceptance of responsibility in a university high school. After identifying major problem areas, an instructional program was initiated. Despite small improvement on any one item, the over-all results were statistically significant. Maximum gains were found in "keeping appointments" and in "showing consideration for others"; in "keeping promises," there was a definite regression during the semester.

Heise (41) evaluated the "Courtis technique" for teaching cooperative group action. This process defines, in theory, procedures for gathering suggestions from group members, attacking conflicts in group thinking, and in general, for integrating member roles in a way that will prevent the rise of blocs or cliques. Two equated "groups" were formed among 207 fifth- to twelfth-grade pupils from a number of schools and, for a twelve-week period, the above technique was used with the experimental group. Results, as measured by pre- and end-tests, showed slight gains in coopera-



tive attitudes and understandings, with no significant change in "efficiency." The highly self-conscious and formalistic nature of the project, due chiefly to the rote learning of parliamentary rules, is indicated in stenographic reports (p. 73-76) of group "discussions."

Judging from the relevant studies in the sample cited, democracy is for us in education still largely a way of talking, not of living. At any rate, it would be unsafe to say that we know how to teach what a famous economist has dared to call "the spirit of willing cooperation." The Corey and Froehlich study (28) is promising, yet it devotes almost no space to a description of technique, and it is the technique of cooperative group action that we need to define, analyze, and teach.

On the assumption that the skills in question cannot be learned simply by sitting and listening or even by reading, a search was made for "activity plans" in which a child group (had been taught to control its members (a) in reference to an agreed-upon group goal and (b) by use of objective "fair play" standards; (c) the social atmosphere would be one of integrative behavior, rather than dominative, as H. Anderson (6) defined the two, and (d) the teacher's role would be to manage the group process in the interest of all its members. As the group faced the problem to be solved, (e) it would plan within a larger plan, where "unalterables" were ascertained and respected, and (f) the aggregate would fracture into subgroups. Interdependence of units in terms of the common group goal would be enforced by (g) the logic of the situation, and (h) rewards and punishments imposed, under teacher direction, by the group on its members.

While Miller's (59) and Zeleny's (89) work on group learning at the college level met some of these criteria, the best material was found in the Lippitt (52) study of "group atmospheres." Research (5, 12) on very young children, of which there was a surprising amount, was most revealing of simple spontaneous group processes. Since many of these studies have been cited in Chapter IV, we shall omit them here. One experimental project (25), although inadequately reported, should perhaps be mentioned. In this project, the aim was to teach "community" to a number of slum-area children and the major problem was to guide the group in the control of a clique leader. Allen (2), in his "therapeutic process," and Miller and Dollard (60), in their concept of "social learning," have contributed to the theory underlying democratic group management.

### **Cooperative School and Community Relations: The Coordinating Council**

War is total to the extent that it spares nothing in battle or in preparation for battle—no individual, no institution, no established mode of life. One result of the present struggle is to force us to see anew some old features of our life together. Field researches, such as those reported in Chapter I, suggest that in so-called normal times far less than a third of the qualified adults in an average small American community participate

with marked regularity in its civic-social life. Put otherwise, the traditional complex of voluntary, promotional agencies and institutions devoted to the public weal is managed by a handful of overworked, public-minded, and/or ambitious persons. The town's civic business is conducted with evident duplication of effort, obvious neglect of human needs, marked resentment of outside interference, and with no accounting system by which errors can be checked and a new start made. The pattern as a whole is as American in origin as anything could be, but with mounting taxes and wartime pressures its continued existence is a matter of doubt.

Inefficient as the above structure may be, few persons would abandon it for anything else in sight. Hughes (44) traced the evolution of this structure but was not concerned with its relation to schools. There is, in fact, no reliable survey of the attitudes and practices of school officials toward these local social service agencies, none at least that goes beyond a 1939 national survey (39) of teacher community contacts and participation. Viewpoints would range, no doubt, from traditional aloofness through degrees of routine school service to active cooperation. A few administrators, for example, Covello (29), Kendall (46), Misner (61), and Pierce (67), have taken the initiative in coordinating local social services and agencies in the interests of child growth and development. The most significant work today is the program (3) of family life education conducted in four experimental centers by schools and local agencies in cooperation with the home economics division of the U. S. Office of Education. An in-process evaluation (49) of the Toledo center showed some confusion in assumptions, objectives, and techniques.

An American Legion survey in 1939 (17) reported 598 community councils in twenty-four states, with the total at that time probably in excess of 700. These councils were either fairly spontaneous in origin, or sponsored usually by local social work bodies, or organized by such national associations as coordinating councils (Los Angeles), community chests and councils (New York), or the American Association for Adult Education. The best brief discussion of procedure in council organization is the booklet published by coordinating councils (26), and the best book of a practical sort is Carr's (17) analysis of Michigan data and experiences. Especially commendable are his chapters on delinquency control, the structure of community action, community leadership, and the Michigan Child Guidance Clinic.

Community councils are to be distinguished from recent defense councils, organized on a regional, state, county, and local basis. As a rule, the two are not competitive, for each is an instrument for the achievement of different purposes. In some cases, community councils have been transformed into defense organizations, abandoning much of their work for the duration. On the assumption that educators are deeply concerned with ways of unifying school and community, the experiment at Chicago Heights, Illinois, may prove worthy of critical study. At the request of local educational, civic, and social officials, the Department of Education

at the University of Chicago conducted a twelve-week workshop on problems in child health, leisure pursuits, welfare, and education. The problems studied, project-group procedures, lectures given by University staff members, findings, recommendations, and an over-all objective evaluation by participants were summarized in a 46-page booklet (11). Stress was put on field study methods (24), more so than in comparable community workshops.

In many ways, the community situation is not unlike that found in the early days of World War I. We had then a great splurge of community coordination, most of which died with the Armistice. If this work is important at all times, various research problems will need to be solved. For example, the great majority of coordinating councils are integrated on a basis of symbolism only. They do not tap the real sources of power in the area, or if the contrary is true, little effort is made to realign "power fields" by increasing, or decreasing, or redistributing agency roles, services, and resources. So far, no factual inquiries in respect to this problem have surpassed those of Alinsky (1), Lohman (53), and Lundberg and Lawsing (56). One who ventures here must, sooner or later, uncover the class structure of American life, and social class is a *bête noire* in education of unrealized size, strength, and implications.

Another problem, easier perhaps of solution, also grows out of the First World War. Councils died because they failed to structure themselves into the fabric of community living, to redefine their aims in terms of demobilization and postwar needs. When financial and technical aid was suddenly withdrawn, *rigor mortis* set in. Local persons had not been brought into responsible relationship with these bodies and educated in techniques of democratic thought, study, and action. The research problem is how to prevent a recurrence of this social waste. What services can teacher educating institutions offer to schools and communities? How can a cooperative research program be worked out and financed?

### Understanding Group-Study Viewpoints and Techniques

The day has surely passed when "educational sociology" can be used as a convenient label for including in the curriculum the array of odds and ends so often found under that title. After noting the contributions of earlier social philosophers, Charters (19) added: "... currently a new group of sociologists is coming into the school, scrutinizing its problems. . . . New materials on community analysis are becoming integrated into the training program for teachers." While the speed of this movement can be readily overestimated, the trend is clearly evident. What these new materials are has been suggested, at least in part, in this and other chapters in the present REVIEW. The heart of the matter, the writer believes, is a study of social living as it occurs in child, youth, and adult groups.

If one were interested in increasing his understanding of group-study viewpoints and techniques, what minimum program of readings could be

recommended? Lists would differ, and differ widely, and a comparison of them should prove most stimulating.

A good start could be made with Watson's (84) article, or better with the original experiments (71) conducted by the Western Electric Company. These studies leave no doubt as to the reality and importance of group morale. A quick transition to child life could be made via two unusual studies (31, 54) of what happens to children when they are deprived of normal, ever-expanding group contacts. Here readings might split in several directions, as a perusal of Koshuk's (48) bibliography would indicate. One line of inquiry would search out integrated factual summaries, such as the one made by J. Anderson (7) in 1939, of the origins and development of group behavior in children. Another inquiry could center on theories of child socialization, especially the anthropological viewpoint (32) in comparison with a social psychological view such as that advanced by Cantril (16), Mead (58), or Sherif (75). A third inquiry, and a none too easy test of learnings to date, would be an analysis of the Iowa "group atmosphere" studies (52), and from this point attention might center more definitely on research techniques.

For simple group description and life history, the most useful outlines are still those developed by Dollard (33), Sanderson (73), and Thrasher (80). Elliott's work (35) is typical of many applications of sociometric "tests" to nursery-school and classroom groupings, with critical discussion of the general procedure by Franz (36) and Lundberg (55). Students who use this method are inclined to forget or ignore a basic assumption of its originator, that one will reveal his interpersonal relations if motivated by a "wanted consequence" of his action. Whyte (86) has made an advance in the study of "corner gang" youth groups by what may be called positional mapping and conversational flow-charts. His work is novel, too, for its sociograms of "clique" and "pair" structures, and for its analysis of informal leadership. One wonders what results might have been obtained by the American Youth Commission in its extensive youth-action studies (13, 30), had field workers been trained in any of the above research and management techniques.

In community study, the need is as much for viewpoint as for method, due to the dubious worth of the older random-type, poorly-processed status "survey." Cook (22) has generalized a series of "community action" cases, obtained through being a consultant to community groups, under titles of group structure, processes, and leadership techniques. Kluckhohn (47) stressed the concept of "role" in orienting participant-observer studies, a viewpoint of potential value to school officials "whose shadows precede them into every home." Roethlisberger (71) and Warner and Lunt (83) have revived interest in the semilost art of interviewing, as distinct from asking questions, by showing what a deep-probing tool this age-old method can become.

Sweetser (78) has made a good case for urban neighborhood research on a person to person, rather than a family unit, basis. Hiller (43) has

struck at the puzzling problem of community unity. While his viewpoint is too involved for brief presentation, the essence would seem to lie in a conception of social integration in terms of interdependent personal roles, rather than in the interaction of groups and institutions. Thus a teacher, coming from outside the area, would be assimilated into community life on the basis of ascribed and achieved roles, somewhat as Greenhoe (39) has demonstrated. Assimilating the "stranger" is the task of many community-binding institutions, such as the church, school, and civic clubs.

Reading might now turn to the areas most of us know best, "college life" and pre- and in-service teacher education. Price (68) brought together data descriptive of "group work" at Stephens College and Stanford University, a growing approach to guidance and personnel problems in colleges and high schools throughout the nation. Cook (23) analyzed current uses of the community in pre-service teacher education by group work and traditional (individual) methods, of which Syracuse (79) and Ohio State (4) are concrete university examples. The topic of "group planning and action" was made the subject of five papers at the recent meeting of the American Association of Teachers Colleges, with Study (77) reporting on curriculum planning in the schools at Springfield, Missouri, and Bigelow (10) summarizing the principles underlying all such cooperative action. Weber (85), under the auspices of a North Central Association sub-committee, formulated standards for evaluating teacher in-service education. A number of these criteria have made explicit the assumptions found in this paragraph.

To hazard a final opinion, no reading program of this sort should conclude without work on the concept of leadership. Leadership, in school and outside, is a social process and not a set of abstract psychological traits as the literature now makes out. Murphy (65) has given most meaning to this point of view. Cook (22, 25) has discussed practical techniques for discovering local community leaders, in distinction to office holders, and has stressed the transition in roles required if one passes from the position of a student of group action to that of a leader. Bavelas (9) has reported the remarkable results obtained in the experimental retraining of adult WPA play-group leaders, although the process itself is as yet unclear. Lewin (50) presented further evidence on an ancient issue, the effectiveness of group discussion and decision as opposed to the lecture method in changing adult food habits.

The principal implication of these studies, in truth of the chapter as a whole, can be briefly stated. Just as a good school is a school where learning activities make sense to the learners, so a good teacher is one who can manage the group process, in classroom and community, in the interests of all its members. Current research has made notable contributions on both points and the road ahead is stimulating to contemplate.



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